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The people of Bahrain are extremely law abiding and there is very little crime. A force of 300 uniformed police and 200 armed watchmen is responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The Police headquarters is the Fort to the south-west of Manama, this also contains the Traffic Department, the jail for short term convicts and the police barracks. There are police stations in various districts of Manama and Muharraq and in Hedd, Budaiya, Jaw, Sitra and elsewhere in Bahrain.

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Most of the Government buildings in Bahrain are constructed by the Public Works Department whose offices and yards are on the northern shore of Manama south of the Manama-Muharraq Causeway. This department is also responsible for the Manama town water supply and the upkeep of roads and bridges. Close to the Public Works Department, on the opposite side of the Causeway, is the power house and office of the State Engineer. Electricity was first installed in Manama in 1929, later it was extended to Muharraq. The Power Station now generates about 7½ million Kw. per annum.

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In addition to these departments there are others including the Transport Section, near the Police Fort, and the Agricultural Department which runs experimental gardens in Budiaya and Manama and gives advice to Bahrain agriculturalists.

THE RULING FAMILY OF BAHRAIN

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The Ruler :

HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

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Sons of the Ruler :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ISA BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.

Uncles of the Ruler :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.I.E.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.B.E.

Brothers of the Ruler :

SHAIKH MUBARAK BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH IBRAHIM BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH DAIJ BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH AHMED BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.

Sons of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa :

SHAIKH RASHID BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH HAMED BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.

3: Bahrain G-5 (1950) 1950 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

BAHRAIN'S SECOND CENSUS

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THE 1359 (1941) CENSUS. The first General Census of Bahrain was taken on the 22nd January 1941. Previous to this there were no accurate figures about the population of Bahrain although figures were given in various books of reference showing the number of inhabitants as being as much as 200,000. The basis of these estimates, which were so wide of the mark, is not known; they were not calculated from the numbers of births and deaths because the registration of births and deaths is not yet compulsory in Bahrain, it is however a measure which the Government hopes soon to introduce.

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In 1359 the Government announced by proclamation that there was to be a counting of the people. The news was received with disapproval and suspicion by a large proportion of the community. Few people, except those who had been abroad, believed that the only reason for the census was because the Government wanted to know how many people lived in the country. Many rumours, some of them very wild, became current, especially in the villages. It was said that conscription was to be introduced, that taxation was to be imposed, that a municipality was to be set up in every village and, finally, that no woman in future would be allowed to give birth to a child except in one of the Government hospitals. Some of the rumours were deliberately spread by mischief makers. Another factor which affected the census was the rationing system which allowed a larger ration of cereals to adults than to children under a certain age. Eventually after many public meetings, talks from the Bahrain Broadcasting Station, which was then in action, articles in the local paper and intensive propaganda intended to remove doubts and suspicion this first census was carried out.

659/162 The census was taken during the night of 22nd January, 1941. The figures which were obtained showed a total population of 89,970 persons; 27,835 lived in Manamah and 17,775 were in Muharraq. There were 48,267 males and 41,703 females but only 20,519 children; 74,040 persons were of Bahrain nationality; 41,944 were Sunnis and 46,354 were Shias, 15,930 were foreigners, including Europeans, Indians and Arabs from other Gulf states. The total number of houses in Bahrain was 14,482, of these 4,051 were in Manamah and 3,185 were in Muharraq. The number included both stone houses and palm branch huts. About 9,500 people claimed that they were literate, a proportion of somewhat over 10% of the total population. There was much surprise and some indignation because the census revealed a very much smaller population than most people had expected. It is probable however that a certain number of men did not register because they believed that they might be conscripted.

THE 1369 (1950) CENSUS

659 PRELIMINARY WORK. Preparations for the new Census were begun several weeks before the appointed date. The census staff consisted of about 150 clerks and officials from the various Government departments, the forms which were used were those which had been left over from the first census. The first work to be done was the numbering of all houses and occupied buildings in all the towns and villages and the division of the larger towns into sections. In addition to Manamah and Muharraq which together contain about half of the population there are about 80 villages situated mostly at the north end of Bahrain Island and along the eastern and western coasts. Many of the villages are in the centre of groups of date gardens and are not visible from a distance. With a few exceptions there are no nomad tent dwellers in Bahrain

659 which made the work of counting easier. After numbering the houses a preliminary registration of the names of the [561] occupants with details of age, sex etc., was made. The question of age was a problem as the majority of the people had no idea how old they were, often they asked the clerk to put down what he thought best. People who could read and write, however, especially children, eagerly volunteer- [961] ed information. Occupation, in the case of men, was easily answered, but in some cases husbands described the occupation of their wives as "eating and sleeping". The first investigation took some time to complete.

The particulars which were required included the person's religious sect, also the full names of both men and women. In the first census the names of women had not been recorded. In some of the Arab Sunni villages and in Muharraq, which is predominantly Arab, strong objection was taken to enquiries about the names of women, but the Shia Baharna raised no objections to this question. There was also a certain amount of organised agitation about recording sects, although in the first census nobody had objected to giving this information. Some of the young town Arabs feared that the census might show a higher proportion of Shias than of Sunnis. By dint of talks and explanations, in which His Highness took an active part, public feelings on these matters were allayed.

THE COUNTING. A Friday night when there was a full moon was fixed for the census. Shops in the towns normally close from noon time on Fridays and fishermen and men employed in cutting coral stone in the sea take a day off. In the moonlight it was easier for the counters to find their way about in the narrow lanes in some of the towns and villages and to see the numbers written in red paint on the doors of the houses. The date and time of the census was announced by proclamation some weeks before

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and on two days before the census town criers in Manamah and Muharraq reminded the people that on Friday night from 8 p.m., until midnight they should stay indoors. Cinemas coffee shops and all public places were ordered to close, taxis were not allowed to ply for hire during the hours of the census and crews in the boats in the harbours were ordered to remain on board their vessels. The counting and checking in all the towns and villages was done by the census staff but certain foreign communities such as the Royal Air Force in Muharraq, the Bahrain Petroleum Company, the Jufair Naval Base etc., agreed to make their own arrangements for filling in the census forms.

All available police and the census staff assembled at the Government Offices in Manamah and at the Muharraq Municipal Building an hour before the work began. Clerks who were responsible for distant villages were sent off earlier in the day in Government cars and those who were counting the crews of boats in the harbour had launches allocated to them. there were about 80 sailing vessels in the port at the time of the census. A policeman in uniform was told off to accompany every counter and the remainder of the police, including the mounted section, patrolled the streets. The public gave the fullest possible cooperation and no trouble of any kind was encountered. Not a person or a vehicle was visible on the roads and streets during the four hours except the census clerks moving from door to door with their electric torches. In most houses the man of the house was expecting the visit and, although it was unnecessary, in many cases children and even women came to their doors apparently eager to be counted. Most of the counters finished their work at about midnight and returned to their bases where they handed in their books. The preliminary registration made the work of the actual census very much easier.

4: Bahrain G-5 (no date) 1953 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

659 133 **Aerial Survey.** One of the most important items in general use is a map, and throughout history it has been found that the mapping of new areas has been among the first of man's activities.

114 The first reliable maps of Bahrain was produced in 1905, following a survey of the island which was carried out under the direction of Lieut. Colonel F. B. Longe, R.E., Surveyor-General of India. This map, copies of which can still be obtained in the Land Department, is a very good map and shows towns, villages, tracks, mounds and contours, but as it was produced many years ago, since when there have been many changes in the towns and villages and in the area under cultivation, it was thought desirable to carry out a new survey. Messrs. Hunting Aerosurveys Ltd., were commissioned to make an aerial survey of Muharraq Island, Manama town and the area south of Manama as far as the coast. This work was carried out in December 1951. In May 1952 the survey was extended by arrangement with the Bahrain Petroleum Company to cover the whole of Bahrain Island and the neighbouring islands.

During the first survey both vertical and oblique photographs were taken and by the end of 1952 a considerable amount of interesting material had arrived in Bahrain. It consisted of 51 oblique photographs produced in two sizes, 10-in. × 12-in. and 5-in. × 5 in. The series of vertical photographs covered the whole of the area which had been included in the survey.

From the vertical photographs maps were produced, one covering the whole of Muharraq Island, Muharraq town in seven sections at a scale of 200 feet to an inch, the area south east of Manama as far as Jufair, also in seven sections, on a scale of 200 feet to an inch and the town of Manama in thirteen sections, one for each district, a scale of 100 feet to an inch. In addition, mosaics of Manama and Muharraq were produced. All these photographs and mosaics are on sale to the public and can be obtained from the Land Department.

Following the first survey, the Bahrain Petroleum Company made available to the Government all the material which they had obtained from the aerial survey which had been carried out on their behalf and they also provided valuable information from their land surveys which included an initial survey of the town of Manama which was done some months before the aerial work. Last year all the available information was collected and a map was hand-drawn on the basis of this information. Hunting Aerosurveys was instructed to produce a map of Bahrain, in four colours, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile. The map is now in the hands of the printers. It will cover the whole of Bahrain and Muharraq islands as well as the nearby smaller islands, but not the Hawar group. It will contain inserts showing the town areas of Manama, Muharraq and Awali. This map will be on sale in London and New York, as well as in Bahrain, on plain paper or mounted on linen or folded on linen. To produce this map information has been obtained from the Survey of India Office, the Royal Geographical Society and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and from the War Office map of 1939 and with the information now available it will be a reasonable task to revise the map, in future, should it require again bringing up to date after some years have passed.

SUNNI WAQF DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Shaikh Atiyyatallah bin Abdurrehman AlKhalifah, Superintendent of the Department)

647 871 795 The Department is controlled by a committee of Sunni merchants and by a Superintendent and clerical staff, the latter are paid by the Government. All Waqf property is administered by the Department which pays out of the revenue collected from the property the salaries and emoluments of mosque officials, it also contributes towards the cost of the religious school in Manama and towards the expenses of some young men who are studying religion abroad.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN

Fahim I. Qubain

(See map, facing p. 239.)

ONE OF THE more interesting principalities in the Persian Gulf is the tiny island shaykhdom of Bahrain. Its geographical location, its maritime commerce, and its ancient pearl industry have all combined to create a multi-group society of its small population of about 110,000. On the whole, the country is well and efficiently governed, the various groups in the population have by generations of experience learned to tolerate each other, and crime in the Western sense of the word is almost nonexistent. At the same time, latent tensions exist that can be exploited if the proper circumstances arise. For instance, riots broke out between the Sunnis and the Shi'is during Muharram in September 1953. It took the use of the whole police force and the imposition of a curfew to bring peace back to the country.[1] In July of the following year, when some Shi'is were convicted for being involved in a fight with Sunnis, the whole Shi'i sect staged a demonstration, conducted an attack on a police post during which four Shi'is were killed, and finally all Shi'i workers went on strike.[2] Six months later, in December 1954, another general strike took place in support of demands made to the government for certain reforms which had already been promised by the ruler.[3] We propose, in this article, to examine the nature of these tensions and to evaluate their seriousness for the future.

POPULATION BREAKDOWN AND DISTRIBUTION

Until 1941 only estimates existed regarding the population of the Bahrain cluster of islands. In that year, the government, primarily for food control purposes, conducted the first census in the history of the islands; in 1950 a second census was taken. At that time the population was 109,650.[4] (See Tables I, II, and III.)

[1] Government of Bahrain, *Official Gazette*, September 24, 1953, p. 3.
[2] *Times* (London), July 13, 1954, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, December 6, 1954, p. 7.
[4] Government of Bahrain, *Census 1950* (Bahrain, 1950).

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[See p. 270, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

An interesting development in recent years is the stress of the dominant
186 group, the Sunnis, on the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims and Arabs.
659 In 1950, when the second census was made, it was planned to count the two groups separately. This proposal, however, was construed as a British scheme to divide the Muslims and set them against each other. Strong objections were made by both groups, but primarily by the Sunnis, to the government and consequently this aspect of the census was abandoned. No such objections were raised during the census only nine years earlier.

186 Two factors can perhaps account for this rather nascent stress on unity: emerging nationalism and new economic forces. The conception of nationality is a Western contribution and a new arrival in the Persian Gulf. In Bahrain it is still a vague idea and certainly has not replaced to any degree the existing loyalties. It manifests itself in two ways: first, negatively in a desire to expel the foreigner (this has considerable appeal: it is concrete, intellectually easy to grasp, can be used as a rallying cry, and above all does not conflict with established social patterns); and second, positively, in a confused ideal of a pan-Arab, pan-Islamic union. No clear distinction is drawn between the two last concepts and the terms are used interchangeably. It must be admitted, however, that the pan-Arab aspect of the ideal predominates. This new spirit of nationalism has had the effect of creating a greater emphasis on unity among the native population. Furthermore, through this intellectual device the two groups can now present a common front against foreigners to protect their rights and interests, whether real or imaginary.

565 The new economic force for unity is the oil industry. On the surface
178 things seem as they have always been. In fact a change, subtle and hard
464 to detect, has taken place. The oil industry, as indicated previously, has
186 opened the doors of employment to the Shi'is. This has resulted in bettering slightly their economic condition and consequently their relative status vis-à-vis other groups. Furthermore, such employment has meant that they are no longer restricted to agriculture. They can now sell their labor and skills as everyone else in a wider and more favorable market. On the job at the company installations, Shi'i and Sunni are brought together as laborers or artisans and placed on the same footing. For the first time in their history it has become possible for individuals from both groups to collaborate in certain areas of action, not as Shi'is or Sunnis, but as members of an economic group.

THE JEWS

162 A third native religious group is the small Jewish minority comprising
563 about 250 persons. Its members are well known for their industry, their
463 higher standard of living, their higher rate of education, and their amenability to Western influences. They are exclusively engaged in trade and money changing.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East,
BAHRAIN M22

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teaching personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain government supported 13 primary schools for boys —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51, slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

Vital Statistics

The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for the calculation of vital statistics are obtainable. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

The size of the population remained practically stationary in the rural districts in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

1. 256 (B)